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REVIEWS

Adolescence: Its Psychology and its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion, and Education. By G. STANLEY HALL, PH.D., LL.D., President of Clark University and Professor of Psychology and Pedagogy. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1904. Vol. I, pp. xx + 589; Vol. II, pp. 784.

It is easy to criticise, hard to evaluate, a book of this kind. At times it seems to the reviewer, as he faithfully plods through its fourteen hundred pages, that the author could not have hit upon a more effective way of shelving the whole subject of adolescence than by writing these two volumes. The book was not intended to be read at one sitting. Indeed, there is evidence that the author did not expect any single person ever to read it through. With great enthusiasm for the subject and control of one's temper, it may be accomplished, and with profit. But it is a compendium rather than a treatise, insufferable from a literary point of view, and will be disappointing to many on that account. The book is too large from nearly every point of view, and probably few in this busy age will have the patience to cull out the really valuable part of it from the interesting and instructive, but nevertheless bewildering, mass of material which all but engulfs it. There is much literal, and still more virtual, repetition throughout the book, partly unavoidable in a compilation of this sort, but some of it inexcusable in a work which professes to be the achievement of a lifetime.

It was certainly a great and noble ambition here laboriously achieved—that of bringing together all the best that has been said and written on this important subject from the diverse fields of biology, psychology, anthropology, archæology, custom, myth, folklore, and literature. In view of the worthy aim, the patient search of every human document for the facts, and the sympathetic interpretation of their significance for education, we may pass over a certain ostentation of erudition and a license in the use of words which is sometimes astonishing. Doubtless this is only a phase of the novelty which the author claims for his mode of treatment, as an “organic

thinker." Much time and annoyance would have been saved the reader if the digests of literature which are interwoven into the text had been printed in different type or in some way differentiated from the body of the discussion. It is extremely wearisome to have to wade through a great mass of commentaried bibliography in order to get the author's own views. There is much in the book besides discussion of the subject of adolescence. This subject is rather a center about which is clustered a great variety of topics sometimes only remotely connected with the subject. But if, as the author himself says, the study of the gastrocnemius muscle of a frog's leg in his youth opened up all the problems of the universe, this surely may be true also of a subject of the importance of adolescence. But the reasons for introducing much, in itself of interest, but only indirectly connected with adolescence, are apt to be far from clear to the average reader, for whom, as the author says, the book is intended as much as for the educational expert. It is unfortunate that the tone of the book will appear to many as distinctly morbid. But this may very possibly be the fault of the prudishness of the reader rather than any misleading bias on the part of the author. And whether morbid or not, the book as a whole is certainly distinctly optimistic.

The reviewer has followed the suggestion in the preface and begun his study of the book with chap. 10, because this chapter, the author says, contains a rough indication of the psychological principles upon which the entire work is based. The psychology, which should logically have been published first, is promised for the near future.

The newness and startling character of the matter and method of Dr. Hall's work are not as great as he thinks. Nor is the "dishonorable captivity to epistemology" of current psychology, of which he complains, as prevalent as he supposes. And it may be doubted whether anyone, if the author had not himself suggested it, would have thought of comparing his work in psychology with that of Darwin in biology. The work of the two men is alike in respect of the vast accumulation of data, but there the resemblance ceases. Certainly there is no great psychological generalization hit off in this work comparable to that which made Darwin's writings famous. To be sure, we should not have missed it if the author himself had not so explicitly called our attention to the matter on the first page of his preface.

The author speaks of those whom he calls "organic thinkers" as heralding a new view of the relation of the mental life to the organism. These "new conceptions of soul-life" which underlie his interpretation of adolescence on the psychological side he describes as "a new and higher monism," an "evolutionism more evolved." He protests against the lack of interest in the genetic problem, which he finds among his contemporaries in philosophy and psychology, regards the whole movement of metaphysical thought from Descartes to Hegel "as a philosophic intermezzo," a "tedious detour," and himself seeks "a pure culture of naturalism and induction." "Its cardinal principle is *nemo psychologus nisi biologus*, so inseparable are life and mind."

He spurns the current psychophysical parallelism and, turning to the physical side asks: "What can brute matter tell us of its lofty partner, mind?" In reply we find that "nature and mind have the same root," that "mind is invisible nature." "The idea of soul we hold to is in its lower stages indistinguishable from that of life."

The first chapter of a scientific psychology, then, is metabolic and nutritive, and the first function of the soul is . . . food-getting, assimilation, and dissimulation. Whether it be conceived as spiritual or as subtly natural, it is related to soft protoplasmic parts. . . . We can truly know soul only through body. . . . [The] psyche is a quantum and direction of vital energy. . . . The nervous system, which is the master tissue of the body, may be the seat of the highest complexity, where matter is most clearly transubstantiated into soul.

The true beginning for a psychology essentially genetic is hunger, the first sentient expression of the will to live, which with love, its other fundamental quality, rules the world of life. The more we know of the body, the more clearly we see that not only growth, but every function, has a trophic background; that through all the complex chemical bookkeeping of income and expenditure, every organ is in a sense a digestive organ . . . that man is, physically considered, what he eats and what he does with it. . . . Food is the first object of desire, and all fins, legs, wings, and tails were developed either to get food or to escape finding a grave in some other creature's stomach. . . . To get food . . . is the chief end of the world-wide struggle for survival, where the law, "Eat or be eaten," is imperative.

In keeping with this geneticism, we find the author laying great stress upon the recapitulation theory of individual development, holding that "the child and the race are each keys to the other." Many will think that he accepts this theory in too literal a sense. He is inclined to lay much more emphasis upon the vestigial character of

the child's impulses than upon their anticipatory aspect, here differing from the theory of Groos that the play-activities of the young are a rehearsal of the more serious activities of later adult life. No one can doubt the importance of the growth-rhythms in child-development nor the paramount importance of adolescence among these—which two themes may be said to be the keynotes of this book. In what follows the attempt is made to give a positive statement of the nature and meaning of adolescence as elaborated in these two volumes, without adhering strictly to the chapter headings, and as far as possible eliminating side issues.

Adolescence is a sort of deferred infancy, the infancy of man's higher nature, of the human as distinct from the brute. The child is not completely born until he has passed through this larval stage and metamorphosis of puberty. Or it may be called a physiological second birth: it is no accident that at this time usually occurs what religionists call the regeneration of the soul or being born again.

Important growth-changes characterize this period: increase in height and weight, of parts and organs, of motor power and function—these underlying and making possible still more striking and important psychic and social transformations. Perhaps the most obvious fact is that adolescent growth is not uniform, but rhythmically distributed and often spasmodic. "An infant who grew equally in all directions would be a monster, so the pubescent who developed all the faculties which are normally given at this age without due subordination and unity would be at once many kinds of both criminal and lunatic." Variations often thought pathological are normal at this age.

Again, it must be noted that "the parts do not grow in equal ratio. If they did so, the infant would become a monster adult with an enormous head, with legs and arms too short, the body, especially the belly, too thick, the trunk too long." This is seen most clearly in a comparison of the growth of the bones and muscles. "During pubescent growth the muscles increase in both length and thickness in both sexes, especially in boys, and their points of attachment to the bones become more pronounced." The inequality of their growth is the frequent cause of growing-pains.

There are profound changes in the circulation due to growth of the heart and blood-vessels. The lungs also increase in capacity by reason of the enlargement of the thoracic space. There are certain changes in the growth of the skin and internal tract. "At adoles-

cence the absorptive surfaces of the canal increase less than the body surface, and, if so, this suggests increased animal food in the past, at the phyletic correlate of this age." The spleen and pancreas grow rapidly at adolescence. The thymus and thyroid glands, on the other hand, rapidly decline in size, and can safely be extirpated after, but not before, pubescence.

The growth of the brain at this age consists chiefly in an increase in functional complexity. At puberty changes in mass pass over into involution of texture and increase in complexity of nerve-connections and ultimate ramifications.

(The author quotes, apparently with approval, Aristotle's dictum that the training of the reason should properly begin at the age of fourteen, and adds the modern argument that the histology of the brain reveals the fact that what Flechsig has called the higher or association areas of the cortex undergo a marked acceleration in their growth at this period. But it would not necessarily seem to follow from this that "thought is more independent of muscular activity or motor innervation than we had considered it to be." All this is quite consistent with even a greater emphasis than in the past has been placed upon the importance of the efferent or motor factor in thinking processes. Instead of these facts of the direct connection between the growth of reason and the development of these association areas militating against the doctrine that we attend and think with our muscles, it rather supports that doctrine, disclosing as it does the inner equating mechanism by which are set up those mutual inhibitions by which incipient muscular movements are directed to finer issues—to those finer issues which, in contrast with grosser overt acts, we call the activities of thought or reason.)

"The age of sexual maturity is marked by an outburst of muscular growth, and also by great changes in its direction and distribution," suggesting a close relation between sexual and motor vigor. There is a distinct pubertal acceleration in strength of muscles. Boys almost double their strength between eleven and fourteen. But this growth of muscle-power is not steady and constant; on the contrary, there are periods of augmentation and diminution. As a consequence of this unequal development of the motor functions, this is the age of wasteful ways, awkwardness, mannerisms, tensions that are a constant leakage of vital energy . . . motor co-ordinations that will need laborious decomposition later. . . . As from the years of four to eight there is great danger that overemphasis of the activities of the accessory muscles

will sow the seeds of chorea, or aggravate predispositions to it, now again comes a greatly increased danger, hardly existing from eight to twelve, that overprecision, especially if fundamental activities are neglected, will bring nervous strain and stunting precocity. . . . Periods of increase in strength alternate with those of control, and perhaps at certain stages have an almost inverse ratio. This is of the greatest significance for motor education, suggesting that for a few years the stress should incline to the larger sthenic or coarser strength-forms of development, and that precision should have less relative emphasis. Motor activities involving accuracy, which may be accentuated during years that precede puberty, should now yield somewhat to those involving fundamental rather than accessory development.

(Physiologists distinguish between fundamental and accessory muscles. The former are the great trunk and limb muscles, those muscles which make possible "movements of the trunk and large joints, neck, back, hips, shoulders, knees, and elbows." The latter, or accessory, muscles are "those of the hand, tongue, face, and articulatory organs." These are smaller and more numerous, and their functions "develop later in life and represent a higher standpoint of evolution." The author significantly connects the function of these accessory muscles with the essential nature of consciousness. Here we see the "organic thinker" at his best. But even here his thinking is not organic enough. He says that these smaller muscles "are chiefly associated with psychic activity, which plays upon them by incessantly changing their tensions, if not causing actual movement." But this is only a half-hearted recognition of the real significance of the function of these finer muscles. Ribot and Maudsley were much nearer the truth when they said that attention and thought *is* control of the muscles. Mind does not "play upon" these muscles. Consciousness just consists of the tensions and mutual inhibitions of muscles, and especially of these smaller accessory muscles, because these are concerned in the finer adjustments of manual dexterity and laryngeal articulation so characteristic of intelligence in its higher stages. Dr. Hall says that "these smaller muscles might almost be called the organs of thought." We would amend this by confidently asserting that they are the organs of thought, and alter his statement to read: "Not even the brain itself is more clearly and immediately an organ of thought than are these muscles and their activity." Indeed, the author's own conception of the nature of consciousness supports this view, when he says that "the purest thought, if true, is only action repressed to be ripened to more practical form," or when he says, "sanity is preserved by an

equilibrium or balance between many lunacies," or that "consciousness itself is largely, and perhaps wholly, corrective in its very *raison d'être*" — "it may be a wart raised by the sting of sin, a product of alienation or a remedial process." The idea that thought life is the product of the mutual checkings and balancings of impulsive tendencies, any one of which, if allowed full sway, would result in abnormal development, is not so new a view as Dr. Hall seems to think it, since it has been the essential doctrine of functional psychologists for at least a score of years.)

Important changes take place also in the various sense-organs and in the voice, which at this time, due to the enlargement of the glottis, changes from the treble of childhood and becomes more rich and powerful. Puberty is also the "golden period of nascency for rhythm," and for this reason the dance ought to be a peculiarly suitable form of exercise for adolescents. But these are not the monotonous rhythms of the already matured individual. The adolescent's methods of working are more desultory. He has to learn the regularity of habits of the civilized adult, and the attempt to teach him these habits is "like trying to train a cat to work when harnessed to a dog-cart."

Adolescence is often marked by a reduced ability to resist fatigue. It is characterized by spurty rather than sustained effort, concentrative and intense activity for a brief time rather than by endurance under long-sustained endeavor. On this account there should be a reduction of certain kinds of work in school during adolescence. An adolescent pupil should not be allowed in school without nine hours of sleep and a good appetite. "Of all work-schools, a good farm is probably the very best for motor development. This is due to its great variety of occupations, healthful conditions, and the incalculable phyletic reinforcement from immemorial times."

Yet this is likewise the creative period of life. Here we have the germs of genius. It is the "age when all become geniuses for a season." Indeed, genius might be regarded as the apotheosis of adolescence. "Now impressions sink deepest. The greatest artists are usually those who paint later, when the expressive powers are developed, what they have felt deepest and known best at this age."

(Contrary to the opinion of various other writers, the author says that "adolescence is the golden period for acquiring the skill that comes by practice." Yet his own pages have shown with the greatest fulness that this is the period, rather, when the great

advances are made by insight rather than by drill, by perception of new relations rather than by repetition of familiar co-ordinations. This statement, therefore, must mean that with the rapid increment of muscular power and function during adolescence this acquirement of skill by practice is absolutely increased, while still it is true that relatively it plays a smaller part than in the preceding period.)

We must pass over the interesting discussion of the diseases of adolescence, and of juvenile faults, immoralities, and crimes. The same general principle of explanation holds for both: that adolescence vibrates physiologically between hypertrophic and atrophic extremes. A period of organic instability, obstreperousness, and even semi-criminality is normal for all healthy boys. The criminality of youth is usually due to unsymmetrical or disproportionate development. Every adolescent, says the author, is a potential criminal.

The most fundamental change of all those which characterize adolescence is the maturing of the reproductive function. There is no occasion for mincing matters: hunger and love are the forces which rule the world, and the proper attitude of parents and educators is, not to try to ignore or deny, but to recognize and control, this great dominant impulse. The time will come when this problem of deepest concern in all our living will no longer be so exclusively under the control of instinct and emotion that the truth is tabooed and sincerity and frankness are regarded as a cause for shame. The time is ripe for the publication of a sane, dignified, thoroughly scientific, and yet at the same time popular, in the sense of readable, book on the subject of the deepest problems of sex. Many have turned eagerly to the pages of President Hall's book to find this word of sanity and wisdom which still is the word of safety and purity. Some are disappointed because they do not find it as dignified as they demanded. Others complain that it is not scientific; others, that it is unbalanced and morbid. Nearly all object to its length and tiresomeness. But, on the whole, in the opinion of the present writer, his treatment of the subject is suggestive and helpful, and brings a much-needed message to the parents and teachers of our times.

As the author says, "there is great reason to look to sex for the key to far more phenomena of both body and soul at this as at other times of life, than we had hitherto dreamed of in our philosophy." Sexually man is still instinctive. We are not yet sexually

rational. Hence the difficulty of discussing the subject before a popular audience: it is still too subjective and personal. But we are beginning to get a rational view of the subject in the biological study of germination and reproduction in the laboratory.

"The dawn of adolescence is marked by a special consciousness of sex. Young people are psychologically in the condition of Adam and Eve when they first knew that they were naked. There is a special kind of sex-shame hitherto unknown." There is an enhanced bodily consciousness, even a clothes-consciousness. "The boy suddenly realizes that his shoes are not blacked, or his coat is worn and dirty, or his hair unbrushed." "Sex is the most potent and magic open sesame to the deepest mysteries of life, death, religion, and love. It is, therefore, one of the cardinal sins against youth to repress healthy thoughts of sex at the proper age." Each sex is now in a sense the making of the other. "Each sex is more inclined to develop the best qualities peculiar to itself in the presence of the other." "It is the age of erectile diathesis." "The erethism that is now so increased in the sexual parts is probably more or less so in nearly every organ and tissue." There is a hunger for orgasms.

To shout and put forth the utmost possible strength in crude ways is an erethic intoxication at a stage when every tissue can become erectile and seems, like the crying of infants, to have a legitimate function in causing tension and flushing, enlarging the caliber of blood-vessels, and forcing the blood perhaps to the point of extravasation to irrigate newly growing fibers, cells, and organs, which would atrophy if not thus fed.

It is the time of the deepest interest in personal religion. Conversion usually takes place at adolescence. "In its most fundamental sense, conversion is a natural, normal, universal, and necessary process at the stage when life pivots over from an autocentric to an heterocentric basis."

Psychically it is an upheaval period, a stage of reconstruction, of storm and stress, an *Aufklärung*. How revolutionary or catastrophic the transformation will be chiefly depends upon the restraints and social sanctions which are enforced at this time.

Psychic adolescence is heralded by all-sided mobilization. The child from nine to twelve is well adjusted to his environment and proportionally developed; he represents probably an old and relatively perfected stage of race-maturity, still in some sense and degree feasible in warm climates, which, as we have previously urged, stands for a long-continued one, a terminal stage of human development at some post-simian point. At dawning adolescence this old unity and harmony with nature is broken up; the child is driven from

his paradise and must enter upon a long viaticum of ascent, must conquer a higher kingdom of man for himself, break out a new sphere, and evolve a more modern story to his psychophysical nature. . . . It is the most critical stage of life, because failure to mount almost always means retrogression, degeneracy, or fall. One may be in all respects better or worse, but can never be the same.

On this account youth is often called the age of folly.

Youth tends to do everything physically possible with its body . . . to explore every possibility of action and innervation, and to give the soul a newer and higher control. It is plastic to every suggestion; tends to do everything that comes into the head, to instantly carry out every impulse; loves nothing more than abandon and hates nothing so much as restraint. It is the age that can withstand no dare or stump; loves adventure and escapade; tends to let every faculty go to its uttermost; and seems to have a special tendency . . . to every psychic disease. There is overinnervation and tonicity, which may issue in any fulminating and furibund manifestation, and which responds to all new and intensified impulsions from within and suggestions from without. . . . The popular idea, that youth must have its fling, implies the need of greatly and sometimes suddenly widened liberty, which nevertheless needs careful supervision and wise direction, from afar and by indirect methods.

It is the time when guidance by command should give way to guidance by ideals.

A greatly intensified social self-consciousness which may be expressed in bashfulness, showing-off, or affectation, according to temperament, environment, etc., to win good-will or avoid ill-will, is now one of the strongest motives. Fame, glory, renown, leadership, may now become ruling passions. Praise is never so inebriating, and flattery is never so liable to cause conceit and a dualized hypocritical life, while censure, derision, or failures that suggest inferiority are never so depressive or so liable to leave a permanent mark. There is often a morbid self-criticism, alternating with an over-assertion of individuality. "Conscience becomes so oversensitive that 'anxiety about doing right exhausts the energy that should go to action, trifles are augmented to mountains, or debate with oneself as to what is right is carried so far as to paralyze decision.'" Adolescent bravado is often a cloak for real self-distrust.

The psychological center of gravity of the individual is now shifting over to the social side. This is seen in the social character of the plays and games of adolescence, the spontaneous social organizations, secret societies, bands, clubs, etc. It is the time when normally the youth tends to leave the parental roof and set up for himself. Henceforth the race, not the individual self, though at

first unconsciously, becomes the supreme motive. He is concerned with the question of the choice of a career and anxiety about making a living. His social ideals change; even parents are subjected to criticism, and now, if ever, humanity in him steps up to a higher level.

Adolescence is marked by the dominance of sentiment over thought, often by intense emotionalism and perfervid psychic states. It is the age of noble enthusiasms and hero-worship, of ambition, of symbolism and allegory, of poetry, and of intellectual curiosity especially concerning the ultimate problems of science and philosophy which are at once so tantalizing and so baffling. "Only if his lust to know nature and life is starved does his mind trouble him by in-growing."

Here, too, we see the beginning of the truly reflective consciousness. There is much more inner absorption, reverie, and introspection than before or after. Through the sex-factor there is a tremendous enlargement of the sphere of his interests, sometimes with an accompanying recoil of the individual upon himself as he realizes his immaturity and unfitness to cope with the new problems. It is a period at once of expansive growth and intensification of consciousness—the intensive made necessary by the extensive development. "One of the most important and comprehensive modifications is that, whereas most sense-stimuli before this age tend strongly to provoke reflex reactions, after it these tend to be delayed or better organized, as if there were a marked increase of associative or central functions." These are the increased irradiations, and long-circuiting, of deliberation and reflection. Hence puberty is the real birthday of the imagination, because at this time there must be developed within the individual the machinery for controlling and synthesizing this greatly enlarged physical and social environment into which he so abruptly enters.

There is hunger for a fuller and larger life. The adolescent wrestles with the greatest problems. There is a dawning interest in the generic. He begins to feel the need of relating himself to a wider universe of ends and interests. Relationship is emphasized. And he now insists upon explanation. Judgment is developed. He penetrates to the motives and deeper reasons for things. There is growth of the historic sense. There is a new interest in nature and man, both dominated by what may be called the humanistic point of view.

"Youth needs repose, leisure, art, legends, romance, idealization, and, in a word, humanism." It is the time for the teaching of the cultural studies. Our educators have made the great blunder of postponing this to the college period and making the high school the time for the mastery of technique of all sorts, whereas this is just the age for laying the foundations of the fundamental cultural and social attitudes. The prime purpose of humanistic studies is moral. Dr. Hall insists that adolescence is the time for the study of the vernacular language and literature. He deplores the "excessive time given to other languages just at the psychological period of greatest linguistic plasticity and capacity for growth," "the subordination of literature and content to language-study," and "the too early substitution of reading and writing for hearing and speaking." He proposes a "radical change of base in the pedagogy of the vernacular language, literature, and history," and urges that

the prime purpose in all this field which should determine every choice of matter and method is moral, viz., to so direct intelligence and will as to secure the largest measure of social service, advance altruism, and reduce selfishness, and thus advance the higher cosmic order. Youth loves combat, and this may be developed into debate; it loves distinction and to exert influence, and this suggests oratory; it loves to assume rôles and to widen sympathy by representing . . . and this suggests drama. . . . Its highest ideal is honor, and this has its best expression in what may be called the ethnic Bible of the Saxon race in its adolescent stage, the literature of chivalry. Its religious instincts are at their very best, and to these our Scriptures make the noblest appeal.

Even the teaching of science should be humanistic at this age.

Science itself arose by working over and over to ever more refined forms old nature-myths, and to some extent, in a true pedagogy, youth must repeat the process. . . . The normal boy in the teens is essentially in the popular science age. He wants and needs great wholes, facts in profusion, but few formulæ. . . . The soul naturally storms its way to the center of things with a rapid impetuosity. . . . He is in the questioning age, but wants only answers that are vague, brief, but above all suggestive.

Only when evolution becomes a conscious method in education and the subject-matter of curricula is presented in its true pedagogic order, a genetic rather than a logical order, so that the same material is lived over and over upon successively higher levels of growth in the child's mind—only then may we be said to have laid even the basis of a true educational philosophy.

Thus adolescence is the great plastic period in human infancy.

"The educational ideal is now to develop capacities in as many directions as possible," to keep up the conflict, the struggle, the tension, but without allowing it ever to reach the breaking-point. "Let the diverse prepotencies struggle with each other." Keep everything fluid and fluent. "The possibility of variation in the soul is now at its height." "The chief end in view must now be to bring out all the polyphonous harmonies of human nature." The correlative educational problem is the question of elective versus proscribed courses of study.

All teaching of adolescents should be primarily inspirational rather than simply instructional. Many bright children are permanently eclipsed at this stage by injudicious training. As Dr. Hall finely says:

There are many things it is impossible to do and remain a boy. . . . In many a schoolroom, a boy's incorrigibility saves him; the fussy martinet and red tape of schools are objects that provoke revolt in the healthy soul. . . . Youthful crime is an expression of educational failure.

In conclusion, it may be said that, in general, what is true of boys at this age is true of girls, with these two important exceptions: first, that the period of maximal growth at pubescence comes earlier in girls; and, second, that puberty is a more serious change for a girl, involving, as it often does, periodic incapacity for the ordinary activities of life. Whether the sex-difference should be made a fundamental one in education; whether woman's intellect is inferior to that of man; whether scholastic training is injurious to woman, tending to reduce her fecundity by postponing or threatening her marriageability; and coeducation versus exclusive education of adolescent boys and girls—these are some of the problems which center about this important topic.

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First Report of the Tenement House Department of the City of New York, January 1, 1902–July 1, 1903. Two volumes, pp. 426 and 480. By the Commissioners, ROBERT W. DE FOREST AND LAWRENCE VEILLU.

This model report is an illustration of the value of scientific training in the public service. Good citizenship, when it seeks to give effective form to amiable intentions, must supply itself with facts and present them to the public in intelligible and telling form.